

# THE WORLD

# TOMORROW

## Gradualism Abandoned

H. N. BRAILSFORD

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## Thunder In the Corn Belt

WAYNE GARD

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*Socialistic  
Scientists*

T. SWANN HARDING

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NOVEMBER 2nd

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**How  
Religion Aids  
Radicalism**

HALFORD E. LUCCOCK



# The World Tomorrow

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## This Week's Anniversary

EUGENE V. DEBS

Born November 5, 1855

Working men and working women of America! Let us swear by all that is dear to us and all that is sacred to our cause, never to become a soldier and never to go to war. . . . I would rather a thousand times be a free soul in jail than a sycophant or coward on the streets. They may put those boys in jail and some of the rest of us in jail, but they cannot put the Socialist movement in jail. Those prison bars separate their bodies from ours, but their souls are here this afternoon. They are simply paying the penalty that all men have paid in all of the ages of history for standing erect and seeking to pave the way for better conditions for mankind. If it had not been for the men and women who, in the past, have had the moral courage to go to jail, we would still be in the jungles. . . . I have never advocated violence in any form. I always believed in education, in intelligence, in enlightenment, and I have always made my appeal to the reason and to the conscience of the people. I admit being opposed to the present form of government. I admit being opposed to the present social system. . . . I enter the prison a flaming revolutionist—my head erect, my spirit untamed, and my soul unconquerable. . . .

## My Prison Creed

While there is a lower class I am in it;  
While there is a criminal element I am of it;  
While there's a soul in prison I am not free.  
From *Eugene V. Debs*, by McAlister Coleman.



# THE WORLD TOMORROW

Vol. XV

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## What Difference Will It Make?

The question whether Herbert Hoover or Franklin Roosevelt is to occupy the White House for the coming term of office possesses no cosmic significance. The stars in their courses will not be swerved whatever the outcome on election day. The future trend of events will not be substantially changed one way or the other by the victory of the Republican candidate or that of the Democratic nominee, for the simple reason that there is no *fundamental* difference in their respective points of view on the *vital* questions of the day.

Both men have faith in the capitalist system and will do their utmost to bolster it up. Neither one has any enthusiasm whatever for a Socialist commonwealth, and neither will move any further or faster toward social control and social planning than forced upon by inexorable economic pressure. That the major means of production and distribution should be socially owned and operated without private profit for the public good is a concept far removed from both minds. The ideal of a society in which all citizens should enjoy approximate equality of wealth and privilege is regarded by both men as utterly Utopian, if not actually obnoxious or dangerous.

One candidate may possess a higher degree of executive ability, and the other may enjoy the advantage of getting along more harmoniously with his colleagues. There may be a fractional difference in wetness and dryness between the two nominees, and one may express himself more vigorously on the necessity of curbing the excesses of big business. There is a legitimate basis for argument as to whether the death of Mr. Roosevelt and the succession of Mr. Garner to the Presidency would prove to be a greater national calamity than to have Mr. Curtis sit in the chief seat of power. But these are all trivial considerations. The differences between the two candidates are not sufficiently vital to make any perceptible change in the ultimate welfare of the people of this country. And both are overshadowed and dominated by political machines which differ primarily in the fact that one is more corrupt in New York while the other carries away the loot in Illinois.

A recent editorial in the *Financial Chronicle*, one of the powerful voices of Wall Street, supports our contention that there is no fundamental difference between the two parties. Here is what its editor has to say:

"Without wishing to express a preference for either one of the two candidates (and the Editor of this paper is not yet entirely clear as to how he shall cast his personal vote), we have no hesitation in saying that *things will go on pretty much the same, whichever candidate is elected.*"

## The Growling of the Medicine Men

The panic-stricken efforts of the Republicans to frighten the voters by the prospects of a Democratic victory are in harmony with the historic policy of that party. When times are good, the Republicans sanctimoniously claim the credit for prosperity, and unctuously warn the public that dire misfortune will befall them if they are turned out. When times are bad, they loudly assert that they will be still worse if the Democrats come in. In short, the Republicans claim the credit for the sunshine, but disavow responsibility for the storm. They behave like the medicine men of primitive tribes who try to keep their followers in superstitious subjection by making them believe that they alone have the power to bring the blessings of health and the bounties of life. And their claims are no better founded than are those of the supposed masters of white and black magic.

There is evidence, however, that this ancient device is wearing thin and that the voters are seeing through it as they finally saw through the long-continued waving of the bloody shirt by the Republicans after the Civil War. As former Governor Cox of Ohio has sapiently observed, "You can't frighten a man who is sleeping on the floor by telling him that he is in danger of falling out of bed."

## Take a Long Look Before Voting!

That we are living in one of the dynamic periods of history is evident to even the most superficial observers of current trends. The America of 1950 or 1975 will differ radically from our present society. Change is inevitable and unavoidable, but the nature of that change is subject to modification and control. The present administration at Washington is wedded to the theory of individualism, but it has nevertheless been compelled to take long strides toward social control. Every succeeding administration, Republican or Democratic, will be compelled to move further and further in that direction. As civilization becomes more highly industrialized and interdependent, social control and social planning are increasingly imperative.



But there are contrasting methods of social control. Fascists and Communists alike advocate dictatorship, whereas Socialists plead for a *rapidly* progressive extension of social control and social planning through representative processes in industry and government.

To support the Republican or the Democratic party during the next decade will be to accelerate the pace toward fascism in this country. The growth of fascism will in turn strengthen communism and increase the probability of violent class war. If dictatorship and prolonged violence are to be avoided, a powerful Socialist Party must be created *without delay*. The time element is extremely important. The great crisis is not so imminent in this country as in Germany or Great Britain, but nevertheless the need for urgency cannot be exaggerated. The millions of destitute people will not indefinitely endure their sufferings, and if adequate relief is not forthcoming will turn in desperation to violence. Failure to create a powerful labor movement and a strong Socialist Party will enable the owning class to consolidate its power still further, and thereby render more difficult the pacific transformation of our economic order.

TO THE WORLD TOMORROW it seems clear that the most significant opportunity open to voters in the coming election is to cast a ballot not only for a new deal but for a new game. One last vote for the lesser of two evils and the postponement of a Socialist ballot for another four years will not only weaken the radical movement at this critical time, but will also increase the odds against it at subsequent elections.

On the other hand, if Norman Thomas should poll two or three millions votes, interest in socialism would be quickened, and the appeal of the Socialist Party made more vital. Moreover, the effort to increase party membership and to strengthen party organization would be accelerated. It is also true that a strong radical movement will be able to prod a conservative

administration into more vigorous action in behalf of the underprivileged.

Add a brick to the foundation of the new society by voting for the Socialist candidates!

## Eat Your Cake and Have It Too

In the correspondence columns of this issue there is a communication from one of the editors of THE WORLD TOMORROW which outlines a plan for preventing many sympathizers with Thomas from wasting their votes on either Hoover or Roosevelt. It recognizes the fact that many in our opinion foolishly are afraid to vote for Thomas and ultimately realize their hope because of their belief that such a vote will draw strength from their second choice and help elect the candidate they like least. The proposal then goes on to recognize what a lot of the straw votes have made abundantly clear, namely, that almost

large a number of voters are in doubt as to whether they should cast their vote for Hoover or Thomas. They are vacillating between Roosevelt and Thomas for many socialistically inclined liberals greatly prefer Hoover's attitude on the liquor question and on international affairs to that of Roosevelt and attempted to vote for the former on these grounds even though they greatly prefer Thomas to both.

If this situation were allowed to rest, the result would be that many voters

would uneasily abstain from voting for Thomas in order to defeat Hoover at the same time that others also passed up the opportunity to vote for Thomas in order to defeat Roosevelt. The common sense suggestion has been made, however, that the anti-Hooverites and anti-Rooseveltites should pair their ballots and both vote for Thomas. In this way they could serve their ultimate convictions without the slightest aid to their immediate antipathies. We hope that large numbers of these doubting Thomasites will take advantage of the vote exchanges which the Thomas and Maure

## Norman Thomas Advocates Capital Levy

In the financial section of the New York Times of August 21, Mr. Howard Scott, directing head of an engineering research group known as Technocracy, estimated our total burden of debt, public and private, as around 200 billion dollars, with a service charge for interest and amortization of more than 20 billion. This is not much less than half of the total national income for 1931.

No honest political party can promise an automatic reduction of debt. . . . Certainly a Socialist program of acquiring natural resources and public utilities, even if ordinarily compensation is in the bonds of the socialized industry, will still further increase the public debt. We have, then, to reckon with such items of debt of deep public concern as: (A) the present national debt, especially the war debt; (B) the funded debts of counties and municipalities many of which are today crippled in their educational and social services by the burden of debt; (C) farm and home mortgages which should be greatly reduced by government purchase through socialized land banks; (D) debts bound to arise from a program of unemployment relief and public works not all of which can be made immediately remunerative, if ever, in terms of dollars and cents; and (E) debts flowing from the acquisition or proper development of certain utilities and resources for the social good. What is to be done? . . .

The scientific liquidation or reduction of funded debts by a capital levy is both just and practicable. It is just because it would fall equitably on all members of the owning class as piece-meal confiscation or debt repudiation would not. It is the owning class as a whole, not one section of it, which has profited at the expense of the workers by war debts and indeed by the whole debt policy of capitalism.—(Continued in center box on opposite page)



committee of 100,000 are setting up and that our readers will give greater local publicity to this suggestion as well as set up exchanges of their own.

## Elections Overseas

In the midst of our own campaign, Americans ought not to overlook two highly significant elections due to take place in Germany and England, respectively, each of which slightly precedes our own. On November 1 there will be an election in 300 cities and towns throughout England. Will the swing back toward

labor which was hinted, though not very vigorously, in the last two or three by-elections continue and register a definite trend? Many observers on this side of the water have failed to understand that although the Labor Party has frequently had reverses in Parliament, its increasing control of municipal power had been rising with scarcely a setback for many years, and that the most morally devastating thing about the last election was not the elimination of the party as a serious contender in the House of Commons but the tidal wave that swept out of office more than 200 municipal officials. The Labor Party, stimulated by the sting of the Independent Labor Party's secession, has recently been talking in bolder terms, even against the pleas of the conservative "Uncle Arthur"; but the working people, who are steadily getting more militant, know that Mr.

Henderson's spiritless leadership in a new labor government would hold little promise for the country. This disillusionment, however, may not affect the municipal balloting, and at least a fairly strong revolt against Toryism may reasonably be expected. The masses are disgruntled with the present National Government over certain issues, such as the means test for unemployment insurance, which has been used unjustly, and the inauguration of tariffs, which have failed to aid manufacturing exports and have driven a declining trade still farther downward. Unemployment has in-

creased by more than 800,000 since the National Government began to "save" the nation. And now, the suspension of trade with Russia threatens to harm trade, and, consequently, employment, still more. Even the glamour of the adaptable Mr. MacDonald will hardly suffice permanently to enthrall the laborers who are running head on into a great rail strike and who see their condition daily growing poorer.

On November 6, Germany goes once more to the polls, an exercise of representative government which not merely appears to be rather a strong dose in view

of the frequency with which elections have been held this year, but which seems decidedly farcical in the light of Germany's dictatorships and near-dictatorships. The most experienced students of German affairs are already predicting that however the balloting goes, there will again be a stalemate in the Reichstag, a clash with the von Papen government, and a dismissal of the Reichstag by von Hindenburg—for though he cannot send the deputies away again for the same reason that he used before, a new reason can of course be readily invented. The Nazis do not look so vigorous as in the last campaign; the Communists are eagerly awaiting a new accession to their ranks from the Social Democrats; and the Social Democrats themselves can only carry out a perfunctory and bewildered campaign, witnessing the disintegrating fruits of their long policy of

compromise and excessive moderation.

## More About the Capital Levy

According to the scale of capital levy formerly proposed by the British Labor Party for Great Britain, a man with \$30,000 would pay \$250 (5 per cent on excess over \$25,000) then by a graduated scale up, so that a man worth \$50,000-000 would pay \$29,574,000 or 59 per cent of the total. This would raise somewhere between 46 and 57 billion dollars in America. The exemption could be raised to \$250,000 and still we could raise between 36 and 44 billion. Even 40 billion would take care of the national debt, unemployment relief and a considerable part of the reduction of municipal and farm debts. The tax would be levied only once on individuals, not corporate bodies, and on total net wealth, not capitalized income. Exemptions could be put high enough to avoid the administrative difficulties of collecting on all small fortunes. . . . Payment could be by cash, government bonds, or approved securities. A Board of Referees might permit instalment payments. . . .

A capital levy cannot displace income and inheritance taxes. It can be a surgical operation to cut out a cancer of debt that threatens us with destruction. Nay, more. It can be one orderly way of hastening the transfer of natural resources, public utilities, and great monopolies to social ownership. The power to levy it, if in doubt, is clearly included in the 20th amendment in which Socialists propose to give Congress power to do what is necessary for the economic and social well-being of the nation. If Congress has not and cannot be given the power our hope of avoiding violent revolution or attempts at revolution is desperately small. For in the present system is neither justice nor practical hope of progress in the war against poverty and economic insecurity.—Norman Thomas, Columbus address, October 20, 1932.

## Why Socialists Ignore Communists

The Communists and their intellectual friends are very wroth these days about the way in which Socialists and liberals are refusing to debate with them, and their righteous indignation swells still further as they recount how these groups are reluctant to participate in united front demonstrations in behalf of the unemployed and in other such activities. The Communists and their spokesmen protest that they are being unde-



servedly treated as "untouchables" and that the action of the liberals and the Socialists is merely one more proof of their pusillanimous desire for respectability. These charges, although made with the characteristic Communist lack of restraint, deserve consideration.

In the first place, the refusal of most Socialists to parade their intellectual differences with the Communists by waging a series of debates with them is simply due to the fact that the all too scanty resources of time and energy are needed to win converts from the capitalistic to the socialistic philosophy of life rather than to divide the Socialists upon the precise tactics to be pursued. It has been a characteristic of most American radical movements to maximize their differences and to spend most of their energy in sterile squabbles rather than in a mass attack upon the entrenched conservatism of American life. The Socialists are well advised not to fall into any such mistake, but rather to concentrate their attention upon the main task of making Socialists. For the logic of events, and not arguments, will, after all, decide whether the socialistic belief in peaceful revolution or the communistic ardor for violent class war will ultimately triumph.

But if the Socialists' refusal to debate is due to their reluctance to advertise differences, why, then, it may be asked, do they not coöperate with the Communists in united front demonstrations? The answer is very simple. Hard experience has taught everyone who has had dealings with the Communists that they cannot be trusted to play fair in any such activities. In their demonstrations they are not only seeking to improve the lot of the unemployed; they are seeking to stir up Communist sympathy and, if possible, to provoke trouble. Every effort is made to convince the onlookers that the Socialist participants are Communists. The Communists fundamentally want the Socialists to rake the chestnuts out of the fire for them and at the same time they want to cover the latter with the insulting epithets and scurrilous abuse which Communists seem so well able to enjoy.

In short, however devoted the Communists are to their ideals—and no one can deny their devotion—they are completely lacking in the spirit of sportsmanship, which indeed they despise as a bourgeois virtue. And it is only the spirit of sportsmanship which can enable one to coöperate for specific purposes with groups with whom one disagrees on other issues.

### Will Intimidation Work?

Few critical elections in recent times have passed by, either here or abroad, without efforts at intimidation of the working-class voters on the part of large-scale employers of labor. When the Labor government in Great Britain resigned a year ago last summer and a new election was called, not a few British industrialists sent notices to their employes in their weekly pay envelopes predicting dire things for the country as a

whole and severe decreases in employment for the workers unless they helped to send a National Government into power. During the La Follette campaign of 1924 in the United States, similar attempts to frighten the electorate were resorted to by business men here and there who were loyal to the Republican machine.

How extensively the same tactics will be tried throughout the country in 1932 will not be known, of course, until the election is all over. Nevertheless, complaints are already being made from various quarters that the comparatively restrained but unmistakable hint by Henry Ford to his decreasing band of Michigan workers is being emulated more vigorously even though more surreptitiously in other regions. Sometimes this pressure takes the form of quiet whispering disseminated through a factory, sometimes of guarded but unmistakably plain predictions attached to pay checks, and sometimes of brutally efficient and immediate firing of men from their jobs who have been discovered by labor spies to have shown a zeal for the Socialist ticket. In spite of the basic freedom of the ballot it requires a considerable degree of courage for a worker threatened anyway with misery and destitution to resist such flagrant old-party skullduggery. In the long run, however, we believe that the sort of discontent engendered by such practices will react unfavorably against those who employ them and will add to the wave of discontent which ultimately will sweep a radical party into power.

### Britain Cancels Soviet Trade Pact

The uncertainty which lingered in the minds of many regarding the final outcome of the agreements reached at the Ottawa Imperial Conference was dispelled when Great Britain gave unexpected notice of the abrogation of the Anglo-Soviet trade treaty. During the weeks that have elapsed since the conclusion of the Conference, Liberal and Labor critics have maintained that the ultimate effect of the Ottawa agreements was to raise new barriers to world trade and thereby to increase the cost of living of the British working-class while the Conservatives have just as emphatically insisted that the pact had merely cleared away obstructions to Empire trade and would not interfere with existing trade relations. Lacking specific information, it was not clear for a time which of these two diametrically opposite opinions was the more accurate. The termination of the Soviet treaty, however, on the grounds that it permits the "dumping" of "sweated" goods from Russia shows beyond question that the criticisms of the Opposition were fully justified. New barriers are to be erected against a country which has hitherto furnished a large proportion of British imports. The Ottawa pact must be adjudged as merely another link in the chain of trade-restrictions which are gradually throttling normal commercial activities throughout the world.



The British government's action has been widely interpreted as a victory for Mr. Bennett, the Canadian Prime Minister, who fought vigorously during the conference for the exclusion of Russian goods made by forced labor." It would not have been possible, however, if it had not coincided with the desires of a substantial portion of the Tory party which had been loud in its demand for a curb on Soviet imports. In moving against Soviet trade, Mr. J. H. Thomas, Dominion Minister and member of the former Labor government which negotiated the Anglo-Soviet pact, rediscovered again the familiar bugaboo of Russian dumping. Although no one has ever adduced evidence that any Soviet product has been sold under the cost of production, or that such a procedure would injure anyone as much as it would the Soviets themselves, there are a group of extreme Tories who would be willing to risk the loss of over 30 million dollars worth of Soviet purchases merely for the pleasure of embarrassing the leaders of an experiment which they fear. But why speak of the British Tories when our own Republicans have thrown away more than three times as much business for even less reason?

### Pearls of Campaign Wisdom

"According to advisers, the President feels that the emphasis he placed on his economic program and the maintenance of a high tariff reached people who are now carefully studying political questions. The President and his advisers hold that the unemployed workers still believe the protective tariff their best safeguard against lower wages."—*News item.*

"It is our earnest belief that American farmers, wage earners and business men have infinitely more to gain from a reduction than from an increase in tariff rates."—*Statement of two hundred economists to the President.*

"Secretary Stimson maintained that the protective tariff may well have made the difference between complete collapse and recovery."—*News item.*

"Colonel Lehman, in a general endorsement of the entire Democratic ticket, remarked that 'here in the City of New York the banner of Democracy is being carried by one long schooled in liberal thought, Surrogate John P. O'Brien; and Senator Wagner spoke of Surrogate O'Brien as 'that great humanitarian and great jurist.'"—*News item.*

"Some of our employees have asked me to give them my best judgment on the wise policy to follow. They are entitled to a straightforward answer. All of our employees are of course at liberty to vote as they deem best. So far as I am personally concerned, I expect

to vote for President Hoover and to work for his reelection."—*President Atterbury of the Pennsylvania Railroad.*

"'The President,' asserted his former secretary, George Akerson, 'is the ideal but typical American father.'"—*News item.*

"Colonel Donovan (Republican candidate for Governor in New York) made no pretense of extensive knowledge of the farmer's troubles, but he declared that he had consulted leading farm experts and found that the real difficulty lay in the low purchasing power of the farmer's dollar. 'I am offering no panacea, no overnight solution,' he declared."—*News item.*

"Senator Hebert (Republican campaign manager) declared that the main task of the Republican Party is to spread the truth, leaving the people to judge for themselves."—*News item.*

"Our country, America, is a great living unit, where every man's benefit is intimately and necessarily tied to the welfare of every other man. Whosoever seeks to deny that relationship and to set off the welfare of one class against the welfare of another class does harm to the welfare of the entire nation."—*Secretary of State Stimson.*

### Women Still Are Subject

It seems preposterous in these days, when so great a measure of freedom for women is taken for granted, that they have been obliged to beg for a chance to retain their own nationality after having married a husband of a different national allegiance. Yet not only have they been petitioning the Hague tribunal, the governments of many countries, and at length the League of Nations itself, but they have been petitioning in vain. For two years women leaders have been pointing out the injustice which this fictitious rule of the male over married women causes in respect to immigration, property rights, and a dozen other matters. Finally, up to the League went an appeal by representatives of 45,000,000 organized women around the world. That appeal has now been rejected, and women in many countries will still be deprived of citizenship rights in their native lands. Statesmanship, so-called, seems no less bankrupt on ordinary matters of sexual and social progress than on disarmament. The old idea that a woman should be an appendage to the male persists with full vigor in the halls of authority throughout the world. We hope the women will not be rebuffed, and that they will fight on until they win, coupling the fight with a struggle against all the complex of reactionary attitudes which choke off the normal rise to power of new ideas and practices.



# Capitalism and the Home

ONE of the cries against socialism raised persistently up to the last few years and still revived by superzealous defenders of the present economic chaos has been the fancied onslaught on the home implied in socialist doctrine. Because Socialists often advocated nursery schools when most educational authorities had never dreamed of them, and because collective feeding and care of children were emphasized by some Socialists just at the time when feminist agitation was rising into the headlines, the charge that socialism would destroy the home came to the lips of orators who fulminated against the strange system of thought that would displace the capitalist conception of home organization and destroy, as they say in the heat of debate, the very foundations of marriage.

The cry has been as sincere as most wails sent up by fearful souls, we have no doubt; but in its latter-day use it has hardly been convincing. When such a conservative magazine as the *Ladies' Home Journal* prints alarmist articles about the 200,000 youths now roaming the American countryside, homeless, jobless, victim to every conceivable anti-social force in the land, it should be clear to the most superficial thinkers that capitalism is scarcely to be looked upon as a sturdy preserver of intact and functioning family organization. But there is more to it than just this. It is plain enough to everyone whose mind is not completely calloused by the exercise of prejudice that throughout the entire social structure homes are being broken up, in many cases beyond hope of future repair. Fathers have been obliged to leave home on a pitifully uncertain pilgrimage to that rainbow's foot where in reality no work exists; in a fevered attempt to provide the necessary minimum of food and clothing which capitalism's political and economic policies deny them, fathers, mothers, and older children are separating, sometimes permanently, or at least splitting up into smaller units of affection and loyalty, to eke out a miserable existence. The multiplication of laws in various sections of the country prohibiting employment of both husband and wife is leading, as social workers long predicted, to divorces of economic convenience, and to unions of men and women minus responsible public avowal or legal marriage. According to Mr. William H. Matthews, director of the Emergency Work and Relief Bureau in New York City, "the alarming increase which the police report in juvenile crime is in direct proportion to the break-up of homes caused by unemployment." Significantly, Mr. Matthews's report continues:

It is not surprising that New York had 3,495 arraignments for abandonment in 1931, against 1,488 in 1928. That unem-

ployment is responsible for the increase is evident from an age study of those arraigned. In 1930, when the younger and less experienced men lost their jobs, those between 25 and 30 were the most frequently accused of abandonment, with 1,034 arraignments. In the following year, with the depression being felt by the more experienced, 1,200 men between 30 and 35 were arraigned—the greatest number for any age group that year. The men between 25 and 35 accounted for 46 per cent of all arraignments for abandonment of families during 1930 and 1931.

Approximately 63 per cent of those arrested on felony charges last year were unemployed. Almost one out of every four individuals appearing in police line-ups were youths between the ages of 16 and 20. Few of these offenders were convicted of serious crimes. Most of them were formerly law-abiding citizens who had become demoralized as a result of extended unemployment. Their families have been broken up, and they are thus deprived of the steadying influence of normal family and neighborhood associations.

All this, be it noted, during the depression. But how about so-called prosperity? On October 9 a report was issued by the federal Children's Bureau covering conditions in the homes of 550 families supported by the earnings of section men on American railroads. Ten states were included, and the years analyzed are the "banner years" from 1927 to 1929. The report shows that 248 of the 550 families managed to keep their expenses within income; 36 drew on past savings; 55 by saving and going into debt combined; and 196 by contracting new debt alone. The report goes on to state, among many other bits of illuminating information:

Although the study was undertaken during the period from October, 1927, to June, 1929, inclusive, in what is now looked back upon as a period of prosperity, not one of the 469 men studied who worked only as section laborers earned as much as is considered a necessity minimum for a family of four or five by any of the recent standards for family maintenance. Only 101 of the 469 section men received as much as \$1,000 a year; 29 earned less than \$500; 125 between \$500 and \$750; and 212 earned \$750 but less than \$1,000. The low earnings were the product of low wage rates and irregular employment.

Comparing this contrast between capitalism's preaching and performance, Socialists may be pardoned, we believe, for venturing to hope that even the blindest of those who attack socialism and uphold the present order of society may at least be placed on the defensive, if they do not go so far as to align themselves with the Socialist movement and labor for a planned society in which alone the home, by any sensible definition of family unity, has a real chance of survival.





## as Brailsford sees it

THE annual conference of the British Labor party at Leicester fulfilled expectations. It registered the abandon-

ment by the party of its traditional gradualism, and its conversion to an ambitious Socialist program. The Executive led the way, but it was far behind the rank and file, which on three occasions amended its proposals. The most interesting of these debates turned on banking. This may seem an abstruse subject to engage the attention of a conference composed mainly of manual workers. Events have compelled us all to study it.

It was the fanatical devotion of Lord Snowden to the gold standard, and Mr. MacDonald's panic-stricken fear of abandoning it, which smashed the labor government. If it could only have found the courage to depart from it voluntarily in the early stages of the crisis of 1931, we need not have raised those ruinous loans in New York and Paris, need not have cut down social services and the "dole," and would have avoided the coalition that defeated us. But the leaders who deserted us had put themselves irrevocably in Mr. Montagu Norman's hands. This spectacle set us all observing and thinking, and round this issue the election of last October was fought, albeit ignorantly and with inadequate preparation. Since then much has been done, especially by Labor's daily newspaper, to popularize some understanding of money and finance.

The Labor movement has grasped the fact that in England since the War the balance of power in the capitalist system has shifted. It has passed from the industrialists to the financiers. Our older staple industries, after a decade of depression, are all in the hands of the banks. Our farmers are enslaved by mortgages. The City, moreover, as we call our Wall Street, acts with a discipline and solidarity unknown in any other country, and forms a close money trust, all the more formidable because it is invisible and secretive. Banking for these reasons has become inevitably the center of the battle in the class struggle.

The Executive made several proposals for the guidance of a future Labor government, which it embodied in a resolution and explained in a well-reasoned memorandum. As they stood they were quite moderate proposals, which need alarm only the ignorant

### Gradualism Abandoned

and would command wide support among intelligent people who are far from being Socialists. First, they argued that we ought

not return to the gold standard, but should aim at stabilizing sterling in terms of a wholesale index. In short a pound should always buy the same basketful of mixed goods. This is not the policy of Mr. Norman or the present government. The City values above all else its place of pride as the world's banker. For the purposes of its international business it is bound to favor a common world standard, and that can only be gold. So, to gold it wishes to return, even if it has no assurance that gold will be better managed in the future than it has been in the past. It likes a policy of deflation, which favors the creditor, though even it would agree that deflation has been carried to insane lengths in recent years. Industry on the other hand, if it must choose, prefers a stable internal price level to a stable exchange. This view gains ground so rapidly that a week after our Leicester meeting the Tory party conference adopted a motion to the same effect.

THE Executive's resolution went on to declare that in order to ensure a control of credit and currency guided by the principle of price stability, the Bank of England must be nationalized, under a governor appointed by the government. That should follow as a matter of course, though the Conservative Party did not draw this inference. England, indeed, is almost alone in leaving its Central Bank a private institution. There is, of course, close daily consultation between the Bank and the Treasury. Their policies rarely diverge, but when they do, the Treasury cannot insist on its own view; and when the Bank has a strong governor like Mr. Norman, it is the Bank that dictates to the government, and not the other way round. The Bank, though it makes a moderate dividend for its shareholders, is not a grasping profiteering concern. The case for nationalizing it promptly is that it is the seat of power. By its function of regulating the volume of credit it controls our lives more absolutely than Parliament. When it contracts credit, the pulse of industry beats slow; when it expands it, there is work, enterprise and hope. In its governing body there is no representation of



industry, agriculture or the land. It is in the hands of a hereditary aristocracy of banking families, who for generations have lived by usury.

The case for nationalizing the Bank is an inference, then, from the first principles of democracy. Until we do so we are not a self-governing nation. The motive for doing it is that we may appoint a governor who thinks in the present century and will work loyally with the government in the scientific planning of our economic life. Without the control of credit no planned economy could even begin. The resolution went on to call for the control also of long-term investments so that the flow of capital might be guided in accordance with our plan of development. That, of course, is vital. England, under the City's influence lends too much abroad. Yet we must expand our agriculture, re-equip and amalgamate our backward basic industries, and create new ones in the stricken regions where miners and cotton-workers look in vain for work. We cannot allow capital to go where it pleases: it must serve social and national ends.

**B**UT here the resolution stopped, leaving the ordinary commercial banks (the "joint stock banks" as we in England call them) still in private hands. They wield enormous power, which is concentrated, as that of your innumerable banks is not. We have only five, and they are capable of close coöperation, for they have formed a bankers' corporation, headed by Mr. Norman, which proposes to finance and of course to control the re-organization (or, in our dialect, the "rationalization") of the depressed basic industries. Frank Wise in an able and persuasive speech, moved an amendment demanding that they also be nationalized. He has had wide experience in the civil service and is now chairman of the new Socialist League, which has been formed to take the place left vacant by the I. L. P. within the party.

No one, of course, opposed the taking over of these banks in principle: no Socialist could do that. But the Executive hesitated. It was not convinced that the case was urgent. It did not want to swallow more than it could digest. Obviously it did not wish to alarm the electors excessively. In short, it had not wholly freed itself from gradualism. But really, it said, it had not made up its mind. Might it not have another year to think it over?

No, said Wise; and by a substantial majority the conference backed him. Why, then, is the case urgent? One can put the answer in a sentence. When you aspire to power, you must take it. If you leave half of it in the hands of your enemy, he will use it to oppose you, to discredit you and to frustrate your plan. That the five banks could certainly do. At present, indeed, they work loyally with the Bank of England: its governor and the board are of their caste; they are knit by a single interest, the mainten-

ance of the capitalist system with the usurer on top. They follow its credit policy obediently. But what if we nationalize the Bank, take it out of the management of this caste and convert it into an instrument for Socialist planning, it would be simple-minded to suppose that the five banks will still follow its lead implicitly. It decides, let us suppose, to reverse its deadly policy of deflation, and to expand credit, probably perhaps, but of set purpose. It lowers the re-discount rate and buys securities. The result automatically to increase deposits in the five banks and they can, if they choose, expand credit tenfold on this basis. But will they? That would be to hope for a Socialist government. On the contrary, it is more too probable that they will do everything to thwart it. They will say that the country is in danger, for safety, call in loans, and advise their clients to invest in capitalist America or France. That is the main reason why to all the clear-sighted Socialists at this conference it seemed urgent to make banking in the whole range a national service. There are, of course, other excellent reasons in addition—these banks are an unearned tribute on the working community, creating credit out of nothing. But if that were all we might wait. What the decision for urgency means is that the party realizes at length that it has embarked on a struggle for economic power. When that begins, gradualism spells defeat.

*H. N. Brailsford*  
London, October 11, 1932.



"Ah, nurse, producing future leaders for US, I Hope!"  
"Not leaders—MASTERS!"

—Dyson in the London Daily Herald.



# Thunder in the Corn Belt

WAYNE GARD

THE American farmer has blood in his eye. He is almost at the end of his rope, but he is not going to sink to the level of peonage without a struggle. The sellers' strike which has flared and subsided in the corn belt is not likely to be his final outburst. He is becoming tired of leaning on political leaders and is threatening to resort to direct action—whatever as that may prove.

That the farmers will engage in armed revolt is scarcely conceivable. Only once in American history has that happened. Back in 1786, Daniel Shays led against the tax collectors and money lenders a pack of clodhoppers who chose to fight with staves and pitchforks rather than enter a debtors' prison. But in the hills of western Massachusetts these rebels were tracked in the snow like wild beasts until the last ones had surrendered.

The farmers' strike should not be dismissed too hastily, despite its obvious and inevitable failure. Even the fire-eating Milo Reno could not have precipitated this widespread flare-up had there not existed a situation which made his agitation contagious. Reno was merely the match which set off that already available tinder. The accusation that the farmers' strike in the Midwest was started and supported by Communists is as preposterous as it was inevitable. The floaters who drifted into the picket groups after the farm holiday had been in operation for three weeks did include a few Communists and Wobblies, but neither these nor their money had anything to do with the origin of the movement. The sponsors of the strike are no more in sympathy with the Moscow government than is the Hon. Hamilton Fish, Jr.

Indeed, it would be more fitting to say that this agrarian outburst represents a last stand of the "rugged individualism" so highly regarded by that native Iowan, Mr. Herbert Hoover. Since the World War the farmer has been the last living representative of the cherished American notion of economic independence for the individual family. But today the industrial revolution is invading the grain fields, and the future of the traditional family-owned and family-operated farm is decidedly uncertain.

Of the sun-browned men who have been picketing Iowa's highways, many were once the owners of profitable farms. They were able to fill two-car garages and to send their children to college. Their fields and fences were well kept, and their sheds housed the most efficient types of tractors and harvesting machinery. Then came the farm deflation of 1920.

Owners became renters, tenants became farm hands, and at last many farm families are at the point of having to enter the towns to live on odd jobs or charity.

Such a step is not cheerfully taken. To avoid it, desperate remedies are being embraced. While the farm strike has had its principal leadership and support from that left-wing organization, the Farmers' Union, even the less impoverished and more conservative farmers, who have been holding aloof from active participation in the holiday movement, are in unenviable straits. In many cases only lack of buyers has saved them from losing their farms by tax or mortgage sales. And in even more instances only pride and the hope of better times prevent the abandonment of failing enterprises.

THE farmer's unhappy plight results not only from the current depression, of which he is the most hard-hit victim, but also from increases in production in other countries, in which labor costs and living standards are extremely low. Because he sells in the same world market, the American farmer must compete with the Danubian peasant and the Russian communist. Forced to pay heavy taxes and to buy at American prices, even the most efficient farmer cannot make money when, as in some instances, he has to sell wheat at 24 to 30 cents a bushel and oats at 8 to 10 cents. His situation may be better understood when it is realized that he must now exchange 750 bushels of wheat for a harvesting machine for which he had to trade only 125 bushels before the World War.

The typical cartoonist's picture of the American farmer as a well-fed and smiling squire, living on the fat of the land, is sadly in need of revision. In the corn belt today thousands of farmers are having to sell all their cream and feed their children skimmed milk and oleomargarine. It may still be said that the farmer "has his living," but sometimes it is a pretty ragged living.

In its ostensible aim, a general jacking up of the prices of the major farm products, the farmers' strike has been a fiasco. It could not have been anything else. Only the most gullible would suppose that an effort of this kind would involve enough farmers to actually raise prices except in such local instances as the Sioux City milk war. And even if it did succeed in boosting quotations, the higher prices could not be taken advantage of as long as the strike lasted; with



the sellers' holiday ended and the farm produce on the market again, prices would sink immediately to the former levels.

As a dramatic flare to call attention to the farmer's troubles, the strike has succeeded. It has made front-page news of an economic situation that cannot long continue. Henry A. Wallace, editor of *Wallaces' Farmer*, believes that in this respect the strike may attain a significance comparable to that of the Boston Tea Party.

Highways leading to Sioux City, Omaha, Des Moines, and other markets were for a time virtually blockaded. While "peaceful persuasion" was the rule and guns were barred, in some instances milk and cream were dumped and trucks had their tires punctured and their windshields smashed. Logs, railroad ties, cables, boulders, and bales of hay were used to block the roads and make the "bootleg" farmers aware of the sellers' holiday.

To diagnose and advertise a disease, however, does not of itself cure the malady. And that the recent turning of the spotlight upon the farmer's ills will bring any effective tonic is none too certain. Politicians and farm lobbyists have their pockets bulging with agricultural panaceas, but most of these are either fraudulent or at least impotent; some are far too expensive even to be tried. The more radical proposals seek to isolate America from the world market for agricultural products, but that this can be done remains extremely doubtful.

THE pumping of credit into the farms will be only a temporary palliative. Already Uncle Sam has made thousands of seed loans that never will be repaid—loans based upon such flimsy security that Arthur Hyde has admitted that his department is "the prize boob in the history of finance." One of the main troubles today is that the farms are too encumbered with debt; the situation will not be permanently improved by increasing this burden.

In some parts of the farm belt the evil day is being postponed by the delaying of foreclosures and by the habit of farmers in gathering at tax and foreclosure sales and, by their ominous presence, preventing bidding by anyone except the unfortunate debtor. For anyone else to bid is considered something akin to treason, and any outsider who succeeds in picking up a farm for a song may soon find himself the victim of ostracism and even of sabotage. Yet this practice, too, is scarcely more than a makeshift.

What now seems likely is that the marginal farmer will, in many cases, be driven from his home and his fields. Unless either world market conditions or a sharp business upturn should bring soon a general elevation of farm prices, such an outcome seems almost inevitable. In some parts of Iowa today as many as 60 per cent of the farmers would lose their

farms if foreclosures were pushed. The mortgage holders cannot be expected to postpone action indefinitely. The foreclosing of these mortgages will mean a great deal more than a mere change in ownership. For one thing, it will mean that much of the less fertile soil will be abandoned to weeds and gopher. For another, it will mean that the banks and insurance companies, already laden with white-elephant farms, will acquire more and more of the land. And since this land cannot be sold advantageously, an increasing amount of it likely will be devoted to large-scale and chain farming, generally referred to as corporation farming. Thus the industrial revolution, with its mass production, its factory method, and its minimizing of hand labor, will make further inroads into agriculture, and the rural areas will be further depopulated.

THIS does not mean that the independent farmer of today will be replaced overnight with a transient worker who punches a time-clock on his tractor and rushes off to the city between seasons. The change will come slowly, but it will come; it will be a continuation of the evolution which, in our national economic development, already has reduced the farm population from—in rough proportion—four-fifths to one-fifth of the whole. In the last two decades there has been an actual, as well as a proportional, decrease in the number of American farmers. In 1910, the country had 32,076,960 farm inhabitants; in 1930, it had only 27,222,000. This in the face of a gain of more than thirty millions in the total population.

This rural depopulation is, basically, what the farmers are howling against. The less capable men, the more poorly capitalized, and those tilling the less fertile soil are being squeezed out of their occupation—the only calling for which they have any training or experience. This evolution is tragic for its victims but no way has been found to avoid it.

The further invasion of the industrial revolution into agriculture could, however, be made more orderly and less painful, even if it is assumed that it is inevitable. The tariff could be revised to lower the cost of what the farmer must buy; the St. Lawrence seaway could be constructed instead of merely being talked about; an attempt could be made to stabilize the value of the dollar, and agriculture could be given its proper place in a system of national economic planning. This latter course would involve a temporary reversal of the government's traditional policy of land reclamation and the adoption of a program for the utilization, in forests and parks, of unprofitable marginal land until an increase in population may require this land to be tilled again.

Meanwhile, it is doubtful if the farm strike will have any lasting political effect, though it lent support to the agrarian bolt of the Hoover ticket. Most of



farmers realize that their woes are economic rather than political. Agrarian troubles will be merged in the general discontent of the depression—which may or may not cause a political revolution. In referring to the farm vote, it should be kept in mind that even in a rural state like Iowa the actual farmers and their wives do not constitute a majority of the voters. The business men of the small towns, though their economic welfare depends directly upon that of the farmers, are often secretly

antagonistic to the farmers and to all projects for agricultural relief. These petty business men, with their fear of radicalism and their traditional adhesion to high tariffs, can and do outvote the farmers in the farm states. But the farmers are not going to be slaughtered in an economic sense without a great amount of squealing. Whether they record their squeals as votes or not, the country may yet be treated to agrarian demonstrations of which the recent sellers' strike may prove to have been but a pale forecast.

# How Religion Aids Radicalism

HALFORD E. LUCCOCK

THE record of organized religion as a bulwark of reactionary conservatism is so dark and bloody that the title of this article may well seem just a bit fantastic. Any discussion of this question which does not start with the frank recognition of that black record might as well not start at all. The history of the organized Church in Russia, prostituting religion to the ends of a ruling and exploiting group, may be extreme; but it contains elements which can be found in the history of the Church in every country in the world.

Much organized religion has been an obstruction to social progress, to the liberation of people, to the curing of justice. Much organized religion has been and is a reflection of the codes and morals of the privileged groups who make up its adherents. The Church has frequently been conformed to this world rather than acted as a transforming agent.

Yet anyone who would imagine that these admissions tell the whole story of the relation of religion to social radicalism is lacking in both historical understanding and insight into contemporary forces. Historically, religion has been a tremendous instigator of discontent and revolt, a source of vision of a higher type of ethical life, an encourager of men to strike at powerfully entrenched economic and social hierarchy. Both the Hebrew and the Christian traditions embody vivid illustrations of this influence. In each case it was a genuine ethical theism in which the vision of a just God fixed the goal and motive of social life to prophetic minds. From the days when an Amos and a Micah were nerved by faith in a righteous God to fling themselves against the entrenched evils of their time, down through Isaiah and Jeremiah, to Jesus going to a cross, an ethical religion has been the chief source of both social vision and social effort. This is not accidental; it has been one of the essential and permanent effects of religion. Consequently, no appraisal of the resources available for bringing about

social change can be either full or realistic without the inclusion of religion.

It must be, however, a prophetic type of religion. The religion which is predominantly of the priestly type, or which is merely a holy baptism given to current codes of action which represent the *mores* of a ruling and privileged class, will not do. It must present a God of ethical character and not a God who is a mere rationalization of tribal ambition and class privilege. Perhaps in no shorter space could there be given a clearer idea of the effect which a passionate faith in a righteous God has had on sensitive souls than that expressed in the old hymn of Ebenezer Elliott which came out of the Chartist movement:

When wilt Thou save the people, Lord?  
O God of mercy, when?  
Not kings and lords, but nations,  
Not thrones and crowns, but men?

Flowers of Thy heart, O God, are they;  
Let them not pass like seeds away,  
Their heritage a sunless day:  
God save the people!

RELIGIOUS faith gives lasting momentum to social effort. That statement is not theory but a fact which can be adduced from thousands of contemporary lives as well as from historical personages. It has given momentum to social effort; it does do so at the present time. William James, the psychologist, has recorded his observation of this fact in the following words:

Our attitude towards concrete evils is entirely different in a world where we believe there are none but finite demanders, from what it is in one where we joyously face tragedy for an infinite demander's sake. Every sort of energy and endurance, of courage and capacity for handling life's evils, is set free in those who have religious faith. For this reason the strenuous type of character will on the battle-field of



human history always outwear the easy-going type, and religion will drive irreligion to the wall.

When a man has a conviction that there is a cosmic support to human idealism, he does not think of his effort toward the making of a better world as a lonely and fanatic enterprise of his own; but feels himself to be in league with the final forces of the universe. Such a faith is a dynamo. It is such a faith that is expressed in Luther's hymn "A Mighty Fortress," one line of which pictures the supporting power of a belief in a God concerned with the persistence and triumph of human values: "And He shall win the battle."

**F**AITH in divine resources, faith in divine purposes of love brings to men the feeling that the fight is worth making, that there is a chance to win. Without that backing the struggle to overcome the pull of the cynical question, "What's the use?" is ever so much harder. Such a faith contributes what is so desperately needed, the conviction that we can have a better world if we want it. One does not need to subscribe to all the optimisms of Glenn Frank's *Thunder and Dawn* to feel the truth of one of the central points of that book:

The secret springs of social creativeness lie in the main outside the realm of the rational, and the rational reaches its highest effectiveness when illumined and warmed by ultra-rational impulses.

A people must be dominated by certain great binding beliefs that hold it together in a sense of dedication to objectives with greater richness and reach than the material advantage of the lone individual or the limited group, if it is to prepare the soil for a flowering time of the human spirit and direct its civilization into a great and glowing period. I am convinced that any renewal of Western civilization that is to mean more than a mere re-establishment of the old order of things under new names must be, in the deepest sense of the word, a religious movement. It must deal with the roots of life.

In the second place, it would be a man very deficient in any observation of life or familiarity with history, who leaves no place in his thinking for the service which religion has had in increasing human sympathy, in quickening the imagination and thereby enabling people to put themselves in the place of others. It has sensitized the feelings of millions of people. Let it be granted that not every type of religion has this feeling. A dogmatic, static type of religion has made men far more the fiends of hell than they were before having their native cruelty augmented by religious fanaticism. But religion which follows the spirit of Jesus, religion to which men are the supremely sacred things in the world has enabled people to feel the cruel burdens which rested on others as though they rested on themselves. It is

an extensive and noble part of the history of Christianity, as that history is written in the lives of people rather than in the fortunes of institutions. It is no sentimentalism but sober history which sees an increase in the alert sympathies of many people as influence which comes from their knowledge of one who was a Man of Sorrows and acquainted with grief. That great stream of understanding sympathy, the willingness to take the part of the under-privileged which is so high a glory of the Jews is a heritage of the vision and sympathy of a religious tradition followed by the great prophets of the eighth century before Christ.

**W**ORTH mentioning too, as a contribution of religion to social radicalism, is the strange capacity of religion to give birth to what might be called "ugly ducklings." Repeatedly, throughout history, and today as well, organized religion has brought forth strange creatures who denied their traditions and hereditary conventions. The poor hen who told the story of the Ugly Duckling was horrified by the ways and looks of the strange child she had raised. It was a perfectly scandalous and ungainly creature according to all hen traditions. That story has been repeated through all Christianity. In other words, amid the brood of priests again and again prophets have been born. Like Amos of Tekoa they have thundered the word of God. Such "ugly ducklings" unexpected by all rules of probability, have been born to the Church—Savonarola, Luther, George Fox, Roger Williams. This prophetic order of "Ugly Ducklings" who will not fit into any pigeon hole and who will not be bound by any strait-jacket is still being continued.

Finally, religion does a permanent and indispensable service in keeping in the minds of men standards by which the contemporary world is judged. Let it be freely admitted to the world that the Church standards are frequently quite different from those of her own scriptures, from those of her own higher revelations. Nevertheless, persisting through the organization and inherent in ethical religion is the standard by which the brutalities of our present order are brought to judgment. It is indeed a part of the process that religion itself furnishes the standards by which its own organization, the Church, is judged.

In the Mosque of St. Sophia, in Constantinople there is a portrait of Jesus which has been covered over with the layers of paint placed upon it by the Mohammedans. But as the guide points out to visitors, underneath the covering the features of the original picture are still visible. From thousands of lives there could be brought, in sober understatement, evidences of the truth that high among the resources for world betterment are the lines of a portrait of Jesus which exists in the minds and memories of men.



# Resolutions or Resoluteness?

GEORGE A. COE

THE "call to action" conferences recently held in various parts of the country by unofficial groups of Methodist ministers remind us—intentionally so—of the difference between passing resolutions and changing one's conduct. During most of the last quarter-century "ringing resolutions" concerning the application of Christian principles to the social order have been a regular part of the business of ecclesiastical assemblies and of the Federal Conference of Churches.

What, it is fair to ask, is the "cash value" of these words? Again and again the prediction is made that in the next war churches that now talk in a pacifistic manner will act just as they did in the World War. As to social justice, cynics say that the formally drastic resolutions of ecclesiastical assemblies express practically nothing but sentimental longing; "resolving" is simply a convenient way of feeling very pious. Our industrial standpatters, however, or some of them, have been a bit uneasy; they have feared that a socialistic infection might spread through the churches disguised under the name of the social message of Christianity.

What is the truth in this matter? When we get down to "brass tacks," can we find any important happening back of the pious words in question? We must recognize, of course, that with ecclesiastics, as with other persons, there usually is a gap between what one approves and what one practices, and that all of us tend to judge ourselves by our approvals rather than by our conduct. It is true, also, that one can be tricked by the religious thrill that accompanies the pronouncement of religious phrases. On the other hand, we must reckon with the fact that the resolutions in question give a new status to minorities that are pressing towards action. Let us follow this clue.

In the first place, within this quarter-century, "social service" departments, commissions and federations have gotten a foothold within ecclesiastical officialdom. The result has been a large amount of both investigation and agitation, with occasional overt action in conflict-situations. A really enormous amount of information concerning social conditions has thus been made available. Here, in fact, is adult education in practical sociology upon a scale nowhere equalled.

In the second place, denominational and inter-denominational declarations concerning social justice, race relations, war and military training have had the

effect of authorizing leaders in religious education to give a new slant to the church school and to the young people's societies. Hundreds of thousands of pupils are now receiving such instruction in these matters as the middle aged and older among us never received from any source. Nowhere else are so many of the young being reached with the teaching that verges so far towards social radicalism.

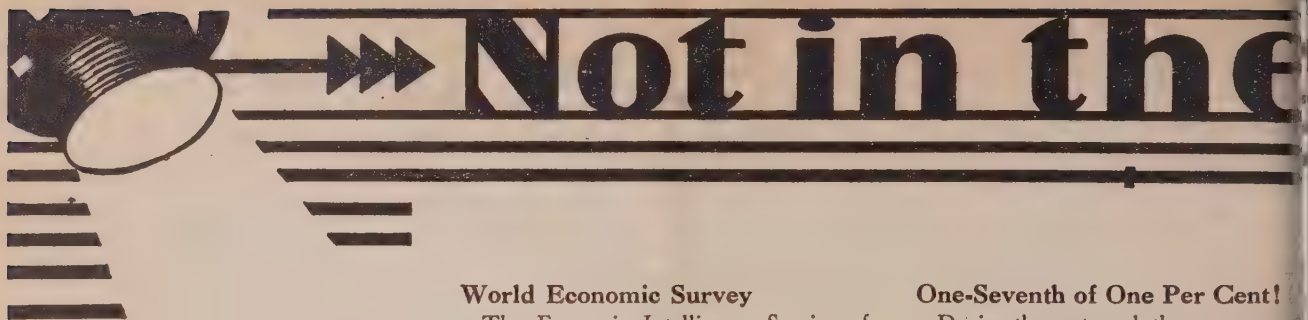
Meantime, a new social note has been heard in many pulpits, and this note has increased in clarity. The socially aggressive minister finds important backing in the social professions of his church assembly; further, aggressive ministers now get together to fraternize and to make plans, all *de jure*. Some of the theological seminaries have contributed to the rearing of such a ministry. Indeed, whoever speculates upon the future should include in his data the young ministers and "theologs" who have definitely thrown in their lot with the victims of our economic order, now and then voluntarily subjecting themselves to risk of violence, arrest and imprisonment.

Now comes the "call to action" conference. It is rather obviously "different." It is pointed in intent and new in method. The participants take the present economic situation as their point of departure; they go into concrete details concerning what they have witnessed in their parishes—hunger, fear, insanity, suicide, the inadequacy of available relief, desperation, growing resentment; they inquire into the fundamental causes of this woe; they invite representatives of capitalism, socialism, and communism to explain what their respective parties propose to do with these fundamental causes; then they discuss—and they pass some resolutions.

"Once more, words!" do you say? But listen to these words; they are not the usual generalized sentiments. They recite that capitalism has failed and must always fail; that both the old political parties are capitalistic, and that nothing fundamental is to be hoped from them; that we must take political action on behalf of social ownership of basic industries; and they advise (this, at least) a careful consideration of the platform drawn up by the Socialist Party.

Words? Yes, and we do not know how much they will ultimately mean in the way of action. But this we know: They mean votes in the approaching election! Further, this one action, openly avowed where avowal may be costly, will lead to others. This is resolute piety.





### All Expense Paid

No taxes for the operation of the city government are levied in four Kansas municipalities, reports the North American Newspaper Alliance. These towns are Chanute, Augusta, Belleville and Colby. The first of these has a population in excess of 10,000. Proceeds from the public ownership and operation of water, gas, and electricity are sufficient to cover practically the entire cost of operating the municipal government. Moreover, profits from the public utilities have been used to build a public airport and to retire the bonds on a \$376,000 municipal building and there is a cash balance in the city treasury of \$250,000 above bonded indebtedness.

### Ministers Listen to Radical Program

The list of speakers at the annual conference on preaching conducted by the Boston University School of Theology included Harry F. Ward, Bishop McConnell, Jerome Davis, Kirby Page, G. Bromley Oxnam, and William L. Stidger.

### Iceland Joins In

Iceland will be represented in future conferences of the trade union and labor political organizations of Scandinavian countries, according to word recently received in Copenhagen by Theodore Stauning, Socialist Prime Minister of Denmark.

### Fire Fighters Win in Frisco

Headquarters of the International Association of Fire Fighters has been informed that an attempt to break down the wage scale and reduce the number of municipal fire fighters in San Francisco has been blocked. This attempt took the form of an initiated petition for a vote on the creation of a commission which would level down the wages of firemen and certain other city employees to the rates paid in private industry in that locality. After 39,000 signatures had been collected, to place this scheme on the November ballot, organized labor made a fight to save the wage scale, despite the fact that the fire fighters are not at present affiliated with the international union. Names to the number of 15,000 were withdrawn from the petition by persuasion, while 8,000 more were found to be falsified. This left only 16,900 valid signatures whereas the law requires 24,000.

### World Economic Survey

The Economic Intelligence Service of the League of Nations has just published the *World Economic Survey*. This volume is particularly valuable for information on wages, unemployment and labor conditions.

### Cleveland Jobs Drop Down

The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce sends out the first job reports of the limited series announced monthly and shows that Cleveland jobs dropped three times as much in September as they gained in August. The drop in automobile manufacturing was the main reason for the loss, although the lumber business seems rapidly disappearing, for employees have dropped from 300 in July to 113 in September. The average rate of pay per hour has gone down below the January, 1922, figure and employment is just above half of the number for August, 1929.

### Toward Economic Disarmament

The small countries are combining to defend themselves from the economic imperialism of the greater nations. This is the significance, according to the International Federation of Trade Unions, of the recent conference at Amsterdam between representatives of the working class from Belgium, Denmark, Luxemburg, Holland and Sweden, and the two internationals—the Labor and Socialist International and the I.F.T.U. The conference was called to consider the possibility of the small countries subscribing to the Ouchy Convention concluded between the Belgian-Luxemburg Economic Union and Holland, which constituted an attempt to follow up the policy of the Oslo convention in which, besides the small countries above, the Scandinavian countries were included. Efforts toward a united attack on trade barriers and financial nationalism of all kinds were initiated.

### World-Wide Failure of Capitalism

Statistics gathered by the International Labor Office show an alarming increase in unemployment during the past year, as may be seen from the following comparison:

	Sept. 1932	Sept. 1931
Germany .....	5,261,000	4,214,765
Great Britain..	2,946,808	2,813,163
Italy .....	964,509	663,352
Japan .....	483,109	401,415
Czechoslovakia	459,406	215,040
Belgium .....	341,326	167,287
France .....	289,479	54,569
Netherlands ..	161,026	70,479

### One-Seventh of One Per Cent!

During the past week the government of the United States borrowed 75 million dollars on 91-day-notes at less than one per cent—.14 per cent, to be exact. The demand was three times the supply of these bills, the total amount applied for by investors being 252 million dollars.

### News Value

When Senator George Norris goes on speaking tour for Roosevelt, in the course of which he denounces the entire administration, the *New York Times* virtually ignores the matter, while the *Atlantic Constitution* carries Norris in the headlines and reprints his speeches in full. Both are Democratic papers.

### Socialists on 44 State Ballots

Final announcement has been made regarding the fight to place the Socialist Party on the ballot in the 48 states. 44 success was achieved; in four, failure. In Nevada, Idaho and Louisiana laws which perennially make difficulties for minority parties have kept the Socialists from getting before the voters. In Florida the Supreme Court has ruled that the new election laws make no provision for designation of candidates of any but the Democratic and Republican parties.

### Power Probe Reaches Morgan

J. P. Morgan and Company's power holdings have at last come under the probe of the Federal Trade Commission, which has been exposing the mismanagement of public utilities by the power trust for the past four years. Columbia Gas and Electric Corporation, the first of the Morgan group to be examined in public hearings, has properties from Newark, New Jersey to the Texas panhandle, and from Kentucky to the Great Lakes, operate through 73 subsidiaries.

### Fifty Years of Socialist Control

The fiftieth jubilee of a Socialist local council was celebrated on October 3 in Commeny, France, which was the first Red commune in the world. As part of the celebrations, which were attended by nearly 10,000 working men and women, a memorial was unveiled to Christophe Thivrier, the first Red mayor in the world. Representatives were sent to the ceremony by many Socialist organizations of Europe and messages were received from most of the Socialist parties throughout the world.



# Headlines

## Readers Please Note!

A significant editorial in the *Financial Chronicle* we read: "It cannot be too emphatically affirmed that there has never been the slightest danger that this country would be forced to suspend gold payments. Many of the President's most ardent supporters . . . seek to instill a feeling of fear in the minds of the voters. . . . Without wishing to express a preference for either one of the two candidates (and Editor of this paper is not yet entirely sure as to how he shall cast his personal vote), we have no hesitation in saying that things will go on pretty much the same, whether candidate is elected, and we still believe that things will improve after the election, whatever the outcome. . . . As for creating a panic, before or after the election, there should be no room in decent society for anyone capable of such an act."

## S. Arms Industry

The Remington Arms Company has received "a very large order for munitions from the Republic of Colombia which is preparing for war with Peru." Other orders from South America were expected shortly. The Winchester Repeating Arms Company received a large order for munitions from the Brazilian government.

## Lockout for Long Hours

In the face of "share the work" agitation by civic and industrial leaders in the District of Columbia, 90 members of Local 368 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America have been locked out by Washington employers, because the union men would not work longer than a 30-hour week or a 10-hour day. These men have been employed on government contract jobs as well as on private construction, and their four-hour rule conforms to the terms of the Taft-Hartley Act.

## Farmers and Disarmament

Chester H. Gray, Washington legislative agent of the American Farm Bureau Federation, addressing the conference of the Emergency Peace Committee, in Washington, declared that wars and the production of armaments are a curse to the farmer. He pointed out that, viewed solely from an economic viewpoint, the farmer's greatest interest is in peace and disarmament. "Prices of farm products are controlled in international fight, he said, but prices of goods the farmer buys are permitted to rise. In the end it is agriculture which bears the burden of all the cost and loses the market for its products."

## The Roosevelt Bandwagon

Senators Robert M. LaFollette, of Wisconsin, and James Couzens, of Michigan have endorsed Roosevelt and urged his election. Father Cox, presidential candidate of the Jobless party, has withdrawn from the race and urged his followers to vote for Roosevelt.

## Foreign News Gatherers Protest

The International Telegraph and Radio Congress, meeting at Madrid, is considering the attempts of various foreign governments to erect censorship which would make foreign correspondents practically the blind tool of the government. These governments object to the sending out of news "dangerous to the security of the state," or "injurious to the good reputation of a nation." The American delegation is fighting the restrictions upon news gathering in foreign lands.

## British Disillusionment

The British Labor Party has lost no opportunities to point out that during the last year of the National Government, not only has unemployment vastly increased, but a quarter of a million more persons have been compelled to seek poor relief, British export trade has declined by 25 per cent, and "the government's refusal to accept the Hoover proposals for an all-round reduction of one-third in armaments has seriously imperilled progress toward disarmament."

## Mooney-Billings Report

Publication of the suppressed report on the Mooney-Billings case made by the Wickersham Commission will be made late in October by Gotham House, Inc. of New York City, a new firm of publishers, one member of which is Coley B. Taylor, who for several years was assistant editor of *THE WORLD TOMORROW*.

## Militia in Illinois

The use of militia in Christian County, Illinois, has been denounced by the American Civil Liberties Union as a "disgraceful partisanship of the state in aiding non-union operation of mines by the Peabody Coal Company." A demand that the government withdraw the troops has been voiced by five members of the American Civil Liberties Union national board: Dr. Harry F. Ward, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Amos Pinchot, Oswald Garrison Villard, and Arthur Garfield Hays. Damage suits against the militia and the state of Illinois for false imprisonment of strike sympathizers are planned.

## Negroes in Revolt

"The greatest political revolt among Negroes that has ever been known in a national election" was predicted for November 8th by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Making it clear that the "intelligent Negro voter has but little hope in the Democratic party," White assailed the Hoover administration's hostility to Negroes, citing as proof such matters as the nomination of Parker to the U. S. Supreme Court, the Jim Crowing of Negro gold-star mothers, on their pilgrimage to European battlefields, the catering to the lily-white elements in the south, the peonage conditions prevailing under government contracts on the Mississippi flood-control project, and the "apparent unwillingness" of the government to prevent color discrimination in federal relief projects.

## Real Conservation?

The controversy between officials of the National Association of Audubon Societies and a strong minority group of conservationists has been renewed by arguments respectively in favor of trapping muskrats to protect bird life and contentions that muskrats cannot possibly do bird life any damage. Complaints from the Emergency Conservation Committee declare that the Audubon Societies have not adequately protected wild life other than birds and that the trapping of muskrats by wholesale in the Rainey Wild Life Sanctuary in Louisiana is unnecessary. This controversy is an epitome of the whole struggle between the officialdom of the Audubon Societies and other groups such as the Biological Survey at Washington.

## Playing at Soldiers

At a recent meeting of the General Council of the German National Trade Union Center, the president, Herr Th. Leipart, denounced the growing militarism in Germany. He said that "at present the very ridiculous playing at soldiers is having its effect in public life. Its importance is often over-estimated by foreign observers, but its results are certainly having a damaging effect on Germany's prestige in the world." He further declared that "the workers of Germany stand fast by the motto, *No More War!* The German trade unions are fighting all efforts toward re-armament. They demand disarmament, but abroad as at home they stand for the equal rights of Germany with the other nations."



# Socialistic Scientists

T. SWANN HARDING

**W**HEN I announced that I preferred to work for the Federal government, the important officials of the firm by which I had been employed held a sort of memorial conference to dissuade me from becoming the late departed. During that rather painful formality I was lectured most unmercifully for my own good. This man and that man was cited, and I was told that whereas my salary in the government would remain static and would be ridiculously small in any case, these men by staying with the company would soon have two and three cars apiece and I can not remember how much stock. I was also told that I had made a surrender to laziness when I went into the government service, where nobody worked more than seven hours (the executive who told me this himself worked four hours a day) and few worked at all. I had ruined my career, turned my back on progress, forfeited an opportunity to serve the public in a big way, and accepted a sinecure where the general public would pension me as a permanent labor slacker.

I entered the Bureau of Dairy Industry in the Department of Agriculture at Washington. My experiences in industry had made me wonder how manufacturing could be profitable when research was so greatly abused. I soon discovered that when private business initiative is baffled and profits lag, it is supplied with the information it needs by the slackers who work in laboratories on government pay. These government bureaus which engage in fundamental research that definitely adds to human knowledge are also ready and willing to show manufacturers how to avoid stupid errors and how to increase profits.

The Bureau I entered was studying the breakage of milk bottles in bottling plants, and it showed the bottlers how, by very simple and inexpensive rearrangements of their apparatus, they could reduce their breakage bills to one-tenth of what they were. It undertook a basic study and ultimately showed the dairy industry how to make pure milk sugar and casein and to develop this into a valuable by-product manufacturing enterprise. It showed them how to convert skim milk into concentrated sour skim milk, in which form it could readily be preserved and transported.

The socialistically paid and supported scientists of this same Bureau also showed creameries how to buy cream on a basis of its butter-making potentialities; its specialists ultimately scored the butter and showed a certain six creameries how by the use of these

methods to make far more butter than they would have made by their own empirical methods. The Bureau improved the method of making Cheddar cheese and practically founded an industry; it improved the method of making cottage cheese and 97,000,000 pounds were produced and sold in 1931 against a mere 28,000,000 in 1918.

Moreover when the very firms with which I had been associated in the past got into serious trouble in the processing of any of their products, their initial action was feverishly to communicate with some government research bureau, sometimes the very one in which I worked, and expect it to get them out of difficulty. Yet the employees of these firms who visit me in my government laboratory were uniformly supercilious towards me because their salaries were two or three times what my salary was, and they never failed to joke all the workers they saw about loafing around and drawing a government pension. Research is "the business builder," but nine times out of ten it is the research carried on by government employees in tax-supported laboratories, not that undertaken by private business initiative itself.

**I**N any case private initiative exploits research. While advertising and business journals denounce the Federal Trade Commission as a useless government service that should be discontinued, they have no reason to do so. This Commission exposes the abuses of research by economic individualists. This Commission refuses to let a firm market an "antiseptic soap as such when it is not truly antiseptic; it stops another firm from making absurd therapeutic claims for a mildly laxative mineral water; it will not permit yet another to sell a device which is claimed to make a car go 450 miles on a gallon of gasoline, when such is patently not the case; it suggests that the use of Ethel Barrymore's paid blanket endorsement of Cutex is unfair competitive practice and demands its discontinuation; it tells the Bailey Radium Laboratories to cease representing the development of Radiothor as an outstanding achievement in the application of radioactive rays, the climax of thirty years toil by hundreds of scientists who labored to serve humanity, and to desist from advertising it as harmless, therapeutically valuable, a metabolic stimulant, and beneficial in arthritis, Bright's disease, senility, ivy poisoning, wrinkles, tuberculosis, glandular troubles, and skin disorders.



as a laboratory worker myself I have encountered two forms of research. The first kind discovers knowledge, adds to what the human race knows, carried on scientifically, objectively, slowly, and fully; it is thoroughly rational and customarily is supported by taxpayers. In a vast majority of cases industry and commerce depend ultimately upon this kind of research. A very little of it is carried on in the most enlightened and most nearly public-service corporation type of industries we have—industries, that is, that are essentially states within the State do not compete ruthlessly in a battle royal to undermine the survival of the shrewdest.

The other kind of research is essentially empirical; hurried, somewhat irrational, and generally helter-skelter. It produces no new knowledge of fundamental value. At best it produces profits in an over-heated competitive field; at worst it gets all tangled in itself, and government research workers are

implored to untangle it; always it represents social and economic waste. A very small part of such research is devoted to the effort to discover something of specious, superficial value that may be exploited for profit; the rest of its activities consist in the abuse of sound research by its exploitation in the commercial market.

The public pays for both types of research. Even if public patents are granted on research discoveries made by government scientists, private firms often milk these discoveries of profit and exploit the consumer just as certainly as if they were putting over some useless or fraudulent remedy of their own vile concoction. This raises the question of how long we can permit a highly efficient, economically planned, socially valuable governmental research organization to operate within the frame of reference of a stupid, selfish, socially pernicious and economically unjustifiable business and industrial system.

## Fishing Out Malodorous Pollutions

**I**N our better moments we dare to hope some of the lessons so painfully burned into us by events of the past three years will really be learned and remembered, for a while.

Perhaps, for one thing, honesty, just plain honesty, may have a revival of esteem. The real scandal of 1929 was not our collective and unanimous foolishness; it was the fact that common honesty was so hard to find among the business leaders we were following.

It wasn't even recognized as dishonesty. So blunted was our moral sense that men told unblushingly of using their positions as officers and directors to buy and sell stocks of their own companies—sometimes to sell short on inside news, sometimes to buy for the rise in forewarned anticipation of bigger dividends, in either case taking advantage of fellow stockholders—their employers, really.

Heads of venerable and respected houses of issue, with long and irreproachable histories, sponsored securities which sometimes they had not half investigated, such their hurry to get their trusting customers' money, but which sometimes they had investigated all too well.

Bankers bribed public officials of foreign nations to borrow money the nations didn't need, so that the bankers might have bonds to sell to a hungry public. Sponsoring dubious issues, since gone sour, might be just bad judgment; but there is no such mild name for bribery.

Heads of great quasi-public corporations,

trusted and respected by a million stockholders and by the general public of half the United States, which they served, used stockholders' securities to bolster their own speculative accounts, and then, when the smash came, went touring in foreign lands.

The acute J. N. Darling recently cartooned Old Man Depression as a well cleaner, fishing such malodorous things as the Kreuger affair from the depths of American business—with John Citizen, in the background, remarking that it certainly smells, but if the old fellow hadn't come along, we might still be drinking the stuff.

True enough, Depression has cleaned the well, but that isn't important unless we are resolved that it shall not be polluted again. Prof. W. Z. Ripley currently recites the shame of business with stirring indignation and pitiless particularity. . . . There ought to be a law, he ends.

Maybe there ought to be, and if so, Professor Ripley's suggestion of federal supervision, with the completest and promptest publicity for corporations, on a prescribed and uniform system of accounting, probably would help. The suggestion is good, too, that at the same frequent intervals the stockholdings of all officers and directors be published. Such lists rarely reach the public now; when they do it is sometimes a shock to learn that while you were buying blocks of A.B.C., the President of A.B.C. was unloading.

—Editorial, *The Business Week*, Oct. 19, 1932.





# The Book End

*With occasional exceptions important enough to merit criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

## More Pro and Con on Russia

*The Soviet Worker.* By Joseph Freeman. Liveright, Inc. \$2.50.  
*Red Smoke.* By Isaac Don Levine. McBride. \$2.00.

JOSEPH FREEMAN is one of the ablest of the intellectuals in the American Communist Party. His study of the development of industry in Russia under the Soviets is a careful piece of research work which must be placed among the authoritative volumes on Russian politics and economics. The advances which he records in all branches of Russian economy are impressive. It might be worthwhile to glean just a few of the statistics:

From 1925 to 1931 Russian industry increased its total output in relation to world industry from 2.8 percent to 11.2 percent. In the same period electric power increased from 1.4 percent to 10 percent; steel from 2.4 to 7.6 and oil from six to 14.7 percent. The industrial output per worker in the whole of Russia was increased by 45.8 percent between 1927 and 1930. In such industries as printing the increase was 68 percent, and in textiles it was 62.9 per cent. In 1913 all workers were on a ten-hour day. In 1930, 71 percent of the workers were on a seven-hour day. Between 1927 and 1931 individual wage funds increased 97 percent and socialized wage funds (insurance, welfare, housing, etc.) increased 187 percent. An interesting chapter on socialized wages makes a careful analysis of the development of the various types of social services which are offered to the worker in ever-increasing extent.

The figures on the development of education are equally impressive. Elementary schools increased by 144 percent from 1923 to 1931 and secondary schools increased 170 percent. From 1916 to 1931 illiteracy decreased from 67 percent to 25 percent of the total population. Newspaper circulation increased from 2,700,000 in 1913 to 35,000,000 in 1931. In 1914, 130 million copies of books were issued. In 1931 the total was 800 million.

While Mr. Freeman makes no effort to analyze critically the official statistics which he uses, and while the whole book is written from the viewpoint of a Communist devotee who is completely committed to the Communist ideal, the book is nevertheless a sober and scientific interpretation of the progress of Russia and is rich in invaluable information of the development of Russian economy.

Isaac Don Levine is as strong in his antipathetic bias toward the Soviet experiment as Joseph Freeman is in his sympathy. Mr. Levine has fewer facts to substantiate or justify his bias but he does place the magnifying glass on some of the flies in the ointment.

The Soviet coal resources, says Mr. Levine, are inadequate for the expansion of Russian industry contemplated in the Five Year Plan. Eighty-four percent of the power resources of the U. S. S. R. are concentrated in Asiatic Russia, in an area five times as large as European Russia but with a population of only 20 million. This geographic fact presents a transportation problem which will prevent the success which the Russians expect of their Five Year Plan. Russia, Mr. Levine points out, is equally short of iron.

America mined one-half as much iron in ten years as Russia in her entire reserves. Levine's emphasis upon the comparative poverty of Russian natural resources always ends with the prediction that it will be impossible for her to equal the industrial triumph of America. That might be true without discrediting the tremendous efforts which are being made in Russia to lift an extremely backward nation to higher levels of living. Most of his comparisons between income, productivity, number of telephone calls, savings, etc., in Russia and in the United States are interesting but not particularly valuable because the Russian is naturally more interested in comparing what he has with what he had in the past than with what Americans have. Levine's thesis that the Five Year Plan contains a considerable admixture of political propaganda and that it was designed to defeat the individualism of agrarian as much as to raise the living standards of the urban population certainly contains a measure of truth. The sections of the book which deal with the tremendous sacrifices which must be made by the Russian people to insure the success of their industrialization program are the most convincing portions of the book. The fact, for instance, that the housing program has not kept pace with increased urbanization means that two-thirds of the urban population live in space allowing an average of only 37 square feet per person, that three-fourths of the workers average only 37 square feet, and one-fifth of the urban inhabitants average only 32 square feet. To sacrifice housing and the production of consumers' goods for the development of the basic heavy industries means that this generation is paying rather heavily for the welfare of the next generation, but it hardly reveals the satanic malevolence which Levine ascribes to it. The real question is whether the Soviets can get away with it without ultimately creating "weariness." But since they have already relaxed the tempo of industrialization in order to satisfy immediate wants, the question may not be as important as it seems on the surface. R. N.

## Beneath the Surface of Civilization

*Georgia Nigger.* By John L. Spivak. Brewer, Warren and Putnam. \$2.50.

THE setting of Mr. Spivak's novel: cotton fields, weather-beaten farm houses, red clay roads, gangs of chained negroes working with rhythmic strokes to the tune of a melancholy bluesy lullaby—all this is part and parcel of our life-time surroundings. But to see through this same familiar world, without distorting the strange and savage realities behind it will be a deeply disturbing experience to most persons who read this book.

In the twentieth century we are shown boys who are forced to labor on cotton plantations for years paying off a trivial debt; prisoners who are shot to death for impudence (not all desperate characters, either—that is not at first); men who are horribly whipped on their bare flesh, or stretched, or stifled in a sweat-bath or who die for lack of simple attentions when sick. We have in



sed upon us the pathos and futility of life, on the one hand, population. Greater knowledge of sanitation and reduction in on the other, the brutalizing of life which comes from the the death rate through advancement in medical science would rise of unbridled power over other human beings. This book only aggravate the problem. Universal poverty tends to prevent is one illustration of a curse from our past, and four genera- the necessary development of transportation facilities and edu- tions have not begun to see an ending.

et with all its sordid incidents of exploitation and injustice, hinders the organization of an efficient, centralized government. A glimmer of hope is held out, however, that better utilization author has not given us an *exposé*. There have been research of existing resources might make possible the diversion of newly and ample news stories revealing all of this and substantiat- created wealth for social purposes, education and capital invest- ing Mr. Spivak's own observations. There are relatively few ment so as to improve "ways of life which may in time lead to facts brought to light here, but *Georgia Nigger* presents a pic- a gradual control over population increase."

ture of this virtual peonage of croppers and the cruel treatment in on camps with a dramatic pathos that is more moving than

ies and statistics.

ELIZABETH Y. WEBB

## China Realistically Portrayed

*China To-Day: Economic.* By J. B. Condliffe. World Peace Foundation. 214 pages. \$2.50, cloth; 75 cents, paper.

*Economic Rivalries in China.* By Grover Clark. Yale University Press. 132 pages. \$2.00.

*Business and Politics in the Far East.* By Edith E. Ware. Yale University Press. 250 pages. \$3.00.

S a poignant reminder that the basic economic activities of China are carried on from year to year despite flood, famine, internal warfare or invasion, we have three significant books on Chinese economic conditions published within a few weeks of each other.

Mr. Condliffe, formerly research secretary of the Institute of Pacific Relations, sets China's problem in its stark reality. "The facts of overpopulation constitute China's greatest, most fundamental and most pressing difficulty, and stand in the way of all schemes for the betterment of her economic life. Malthus' Law is operative in China much as it was originally envisioned by the early English cleric. In normal times, an abnormally high birth rate brings an increase in population of between 3 to 5 million annually, but Malthusian checks—famine, pestilence and war—make their appearance at intervals to cancel this normal increase. Moreover, the experience of other lands has shown that either emigration nor industrialization can possibly have more than a temporary or local effect on the situation. Improvements in agricultural technique can give no more than transitory relief unless some means is devised to prevent further increases in

population. Greater knowledge of sanitation and reduction in the death rate through advancement in medical science would only aggravate the problem. Universal poverty tends to prevent the necessary development of transportation facilities and education, and, through the stimulation of banditry and militarism, hinders the organization of an efficient, centralized government. A glimmer of hope is held out, however, that better utilization of existing resources might make possible the diversion of newly created wealth for social purposes, education and capital investment so as to improve "ways of life which may in time lead to a gradual control over population increase."

In *Economic Rivalries in China* Grover Clark strikes a somewhat more sanguine note. Although the book contains very little interpretation, statistics are marshalled to show that since the turn of the century the Chinese have made steady progress in competition with foreigners for the control of the financial, commercial and industrial life of the country. This does not minimize the gravity of China's economic problem, but it shows that, given half a chance, the Chinese may be relied upon to exercise as much intelligence and energy in coping with their difficulties as any other people—and possibly just a bit more.

In the first of two ably written monographs Miss Ware portrays the difficult adjustments that have had to be made on both sides before Chinese law and business practice could be made compatible with Western business methods. She shows at some length that business contractual relationships are not, as is often supposed, dependent upon extraterritoriality, but rather upon the integrity and good will of the parties concerned. Nor would the abolition of extraterritoriality greatly benefit the Chinese business man. The real solution of such political differences, according to Miss Ware, lies in the development of a new spirit of international coöperation in which both parties exhibit the same willingness to adjust and compromise that they have shown in the business field.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Make Your Vote Count Double

I AM one of those who believe that the only liberal votes which will not be thrown away this fall will be those cast for Norman Thomas. There are nevertheless many who would prefer to vote for Thomas but who are afraid to do so lest they should help elect Hoover. There are others however who would like to vote for Thomas but are afraid to do so lest they should elect Roosevelt. Both of these groups are likely to go to the polls with a heavy heart and vote to keep someone out rather than for their first choice. Their votes moreover will in a large measure cancel each other.

I believe we have devised a way to enable both of these groups to do what they really desire most of all, namely to vote for Thomas without injury to their second choice and without aid to the candidate whom they dislike most.

The method briefly is this: Will all such voters communicate briefly to the Vote Exchanges mentioned below (1) their name, (2) the state in which they live, and (3) whether they are planning to vote for Hoover or Roosevelt. We will then arrange pairs from identical states and will communicate with each person who his pair is. Both then will be able to vote for their first choice Thomas without the fear of aiding the candidate they may dislike most.

## Who's Who in This Issue

Wayne Gard is a Des Moines journalist, and also teaches at Drake University.

Maxwell S. Stewart is on the research staff of the Foreign Policy Association; a former resident of China; and a new Contributing Editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW.

T. Swann Harding is the author of *Fads, Frauds, and Physicians*; *Degradation of Science*; and the *Joy of Ignorance*.

Elizabeth Y. Webb is a member of the faculty of Vassar College.

Raymond Leslie Buell is Research Director of the Foreign Policy Association, and a former professor at Harvard.

Ray Gibbons is minister of the Congregational Church, Westbrook, Connecticut.



This seems a fruitful way of transforming wasted votes into ones that really will mean something. Will you therefore invite your readers in the Eastern states who feel themselves in such a predicament to communicate with Miss Mary Fox, 112 East 19 Street, New York, who will manage such a Voters Exchange in the East, and those in the Middle West to write me at 5660 Blackstone Avenue, Chicago? It would be better still if some of the readers of this journal were to start informal local exchanges, thus covering a wider area and lessening the burden or work upon the formal exchanges.

Chicago, Ill.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS,

Chairman, Thomas and Maurer Committee of 100,000

## On Throwing Your Vote Away

APPARENTLY, many people who are convinced that Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party should be put into power are refusing to vote for him because they feel it would be futile. When such an objection is raised by "practical" politicians we are ready to excuse them on the ground that they are juggling votes to get what they consider a second best—an expediency common to party politics. But when Christian ministers and people of high moral and intellectual honesty advance such an argument, one doubts their integrity. Can a cause that is right be futile?

Put the problem in its severest form. What about putting one's time and money and life into working for socialistic principles? Is that throwing your life away? What if the minority of early Christians had thrown the pinch of incense on the fire before the Emperor's statute because the Christian group was so small that to join it was only throwing one's life away? What if the men of '76 felt the great issues were in the old parties and had thrown their weight behind one or the other dominant party of England instead of throwing their lives away in a hopeless cause? How can a student of history who has traced the rise of minority parties and the new courses into which humanity has flowed, dug by these small parties, say that any minority is futile? Much less, how can a Protestant Christian who believes that truth is measured by its fruits, not by its inheritance, refuse to act for what he, individually, values.

When Christians in politics raise the cry of futility about the cause they maintain is right, they evidence a moral breakdown paralleled only by their intellectual fatigue.

RAY GIBBONS.

Westbrook, Maine

## Buell on Brailsford on Lytton

IN his article on the Lytton Report, contained in last week's issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW, Mr. Brailsford fails to write with his customary earnestness and lucidity. From the perfectionist standpoint it would have been possible for him to make a strong criticism of the Lytton Report. He could have condemned it on the ground that it was afraid to charge Japan with the violation of the three great world treaties to which it is a party; and that it failed to demand the immediate evacuation of Japanese troops from Manchuria and the payment of heavy damages by Japan to China. Mr. Brailsford would have been intelligible had he, in short, demanded the unconditional restoration of the *status quo*.

Mr. Brailsford does not, however, draw an indictment of this character. What his fundamental objection to the Report is I

have been unable to ascertain. Apparently he regrets that document is not written in the shrill tone of the Allied propagandists who condemned the "rape" of Belgium; apparently regrets that Lord Lytton comes of a literary family! What more, he implies that only a simpleton can ask Japan and China to accept this report; and that no one should expect that League will oblige them to do so. "The League, under its present management, is a superfluity"—a form of logic which should Mr. Brailsford to assert that the Lytton Commission was doomed before it was born. One has the right to expect a more weighty treatment of a crucial problem from a writer of such high standing.

Why is it that the Lytton Report may prove to be of historical importance? There are, I think, two interrelated reasons. In the first place, the report constitutes the first considered effort to find a fundamental solution to the Sino-Japanese problem. It demonstrates that Japan cannot meet its population difficulties without effecting an economic rapprochement with China; it demonstrates that China cannot effect its modernization and unification without the friendly coöperation of Japan. In the second place, the Lytton Report gives a new and vitally needed emphasis to peace machinery. In the past this machinery has been vitiated by its negative character. The Anti-War Pact and the Covenant are full of "thou-shalt-nots"; they take away the right of force but they do not provide any other adequate means of changing an unchangeable *status quo*. The Lytton Report, however, proposes to the Japanese people a substitute for force which will give them far greater economic advantages and political security than the present course of self-destructive militarism. In recommending a plan for economic development of Manchuria, with the aid of foreign advisers, but under a government responsive to the Chinese inhabitants, the Report proposes what should prove to be, if carried out in good-will, a satisfactory compromise between the material needs of the Japanese people and the political desires of the Chinese.

Far from resulting in a disguised Japanese protectorate, the Lytton plan for an autonomous government in Manchuria merely repeats a suggestion advanced by Eugene Chen and other Chinese leaders more than a year ago. In providing for the compulsory arbitration of disputes between China and Japan, in advocating the demilitarization of the Manchuria provinces, and in proposing the withdrawal of Japanese troops and the surrender of extrajurisdictionality, the Commission outlines a plan which will mean the end of Japan's exclusive political position in this area. While rejecting the Japanese claim to "paramount" influence in Manchuria, the Commission proposes an Oriental Locarno which would prevent Manchuria from falling into the hands of Soviet Russia or any other power which might threaten Japan's security.

These recommendations will not be accepted tomorrow. They may not be accepted for five years. Nevertheless, this report, which soon should receive the official *imprimatur* of at least five governments, should have more effect in causing Chinese and Japanese leaders to see the necessity of an understanding than any other single event in the past quarter of a century. It will inevitably serve as the basis for any discussion of Sino-Japanese understanding.

Fortified by this document, the organized opinion of the world can bring much more intelligent and weighty pressure upon Japan and China to keep the peace than they could when the League of Nations Council was fumbling in the dark. Instead of jeering at this document, we should give thanks for what is the one ray of light in this dreary year of darkness.

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## THE LAST WORD

OVER in England they have a lot more heckling in political contests than we have in this country, but they ban posters, flags, and even music at their rallies. It seems to me that also, though not by law, they prohibit much of the slapstick comedy that must give the gods presiding over American democracy a merry sideache. Eccentricus thought we had reached the high-water mark for nonsense when Gene Tunney solemnly was trotted out to turn the tide in favor of the Democrats. Mr. Tunney, as I think I have reported, was found never to have voted in his Connecticut town of Greenwich, and a good chuckle was had by all—especially the Republicans—at this disclosure. And now, just as the prize ring magnate was expected to go stumping on his return from Paris, he goes to bed—you great, big, strong man, you!—with a sore throat.

But the Republicans couldn't let the Democrats have all the credit for ability to make themselves ridiculous. They dragged into the political area a handful of bright young athletes under the leadership of "Albie" Booth, famous Yale quarter. One of these was "Shipwreck" Kelley, whose influence on the ship of state, as well as his symbolization of the Hoover regime, gave comfort only to the Democrats. As for Albie, he's a great little pigskin plunker; but as a politician he seems to leave something to be desired. Like the eminent Gene, he too, so it has been revealed, never was interested enough in saving his country (until he fell into the clutches of the 1932 campaign managers) to cast a single ballot, though old enough to do so two or three years ago. His excuse was, be it noted, that he had been too much interested in football. That alone was enough to penalize Albie ten yards on the campaign gridiron; but the acme of political gridirony was reached when Albie, scheduled to deliver an address in Middletown, Connecticut, turned up, to the mutual bewilderment of himself and the natives, in Middletown, New York. If ever there was a fumble such as this before, I have yet to hear of it. I couldn't get to the recent testimonial dinner to Albie, also engineered at a significant time by those who pull wires affecting the destiny of men and nations, but I wanted to. I figured that when they started to give the toasts and declaimed, "Here's to good old Albie, drink it down," I might venture to pop up and declaim, a little louder, "Here's to good old Albie, laugh that off."

ECCENTRICUS once ran for office, and got two votes on a certain funny story he told, and another vote because his father was born in a certain city. These, after all, are no more foolish than the reasons why the majority of voters cast their ballots as they do. But it was in old Pompeii that perhaps the best prototypes of our present voters have been found. During the excavations there, ancient election posters were discovered. When the paint on the olden walls was cleaned, here are some of the admonitions that stood out:

Vote for Pansa, who has never been drunk.

Cast your vote for Sabinus, the brave man.

Elect Obonius Priscus, the friend of the farmer.

Asilina earnestly desires the success of her friend, Lucius Secundus.

Asilina asks all women to work for her friend, Lucius Secundus.

Woe unto you, Pompeii, if Camillus Tiremius is not elected.

Cheap bread and free entrance to the circus.

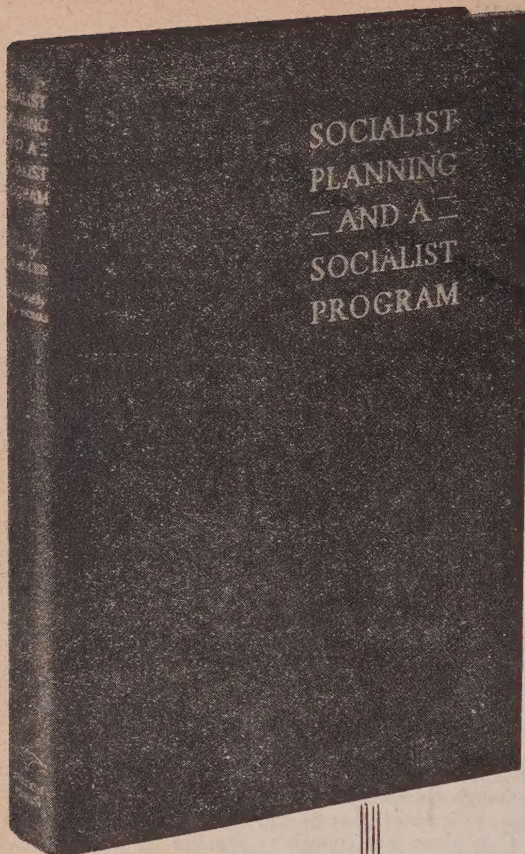
After three failures, Marius Longinius hopes to be elected this time. (Cf. Bryan.)

Elect no old people. Quirinius is an ideal young man.

Smirius believes that Julius Polybius will be elected because he is as beautiful as Apollo.

*Eccentricus*





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